

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02
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AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY BONN

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 01457

FOR EUR/RPM, EUR/SOV, IO/IEP, OES, AND EUR/RPE
BELGRADE FOR CSCE
USEEC

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: CSCE, ECE, SENV
SUBJECT: BELGRADE CSCE POSITION ON BREZHNEV BASKET II
CONFERENCES

REF: (A) STATE 21462; (B) USNATO 887, (C) 77 STATE 301032
(D) BELGRADE 547

1. I AGREE THAT WE MIGHT OBTAIN SOME LEVERAGE ON NON-
ECONOMIC ISSUES AT BELGRADE BY THREATENING TO REJECT (OR
POSTPONE CONSIDERATION OF) SOVIET PROPOSALS FOR CONFER-
ENCES ON ENVIRONMENT, ENERGY, AND TRANSPORT. THIS LEVERAGE
WOULD OBVIOUSLY BE MUCH GREATER IF NATO COUNTRIES HAD
DEVELOPED A COMMON POSITION AND TACTICS SO THAT SOVIETS
COULD NOT CONCLUDE THEY WERE DEALING WITH A SIMPLE BLUFF
BY ONE COUNTRY. ACCORDINGLY, I WISH TO SUPPORT USNATO
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VIEW THAT QUESTION BE DISCUSSED FIRST IN NATO CAUCUS,
EITHER IN BELGRADE OR BRUSSELS.

2. SUCH COORDINATION, OR AT LEAST CONSULTATION, IS
IMPORTANT IF WE WISH TO CONTINUE WORKING CLOSELY WITH OUR
ALLIES ON THIS ISSUE. THIS IS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT,
BECAUSE NO ONE COUNTRY IS IN POSITION TO BLOCK HIGH LEVEL

MEETINGS IN ECE, SINCE THERE IS NO CONSENSUS REQUIREMENT HERE AS THERE IS IN CSCE. UP TO NOW, WESTERN COORDINATION ON MATTER HAS BEEN EXCELLENT, WITH RESULT THAT SOVIETS HAVE BEEN FORCED TO SETTLE FOR REASONABLE RESOLUTION MAKING FINAL DECISIONS ON ENVIRONMENT MEETING CONTINGENT UPON SUBSTANTIATION THAT HIGH LEVEL MEETING WOULD BE WELL-PREPARED AND LIKELY TO BE USEFUL.

3. WITH REGARD TO ENERGY CONFERENCE, THEY HAVE THUS FAR GOTTEN NOWHERE IN ECE, BUT WE HAVE INFORMED EC OF OUR WILLINGNESS TO FOLLOW THEIR LEAD CONCERNING POSSIBLE STUDY OF BREZHNEV PROPOSAL IN ECE IF EC DECIDES THIS IS DESIRABLE (REF C). IF WE THEREFORE NOW DECIDE TO TAKE POSITION "THAT PROGRESS ON ALL CSCE RELATED TOPICS DEPENDS ON PROGRESS IN CURRENT BELGRADE DISCUSSIONS", BELIEVE IT IMPORTANT TO INFORM EC THAT THEY NO LONGER HAVE OUR PROXY BEFORE TAKING MATTER UP WITH THE EAST IN AN OPEN FORUM.

4. ANOTHER ASPECT TO BE CONSIDERED IS THAT WHILE USSR HAS PUT FORWARD "ALL-EUROPEAN CONFERENCE" PROPOSALS IN CSCE CONTEXT, WESTERN COUNTRIES HAVE TAKEN THE POSITION THAT PROPOSALS SHOULD BE CONSIDERED STRICTLY ON THEIR OWN MERITS IN LIGHT OF POSSIBLE UTILITY AND IN RELATION TO ON-GOING ECE TECHNICAL WORK IN THESE AREAS. TO NOW LINK DECISIONS TO USSR POSITION ON OTHER CSCE ISSUES WOULD MAKE IT DIFFICULT TO ARGUE IN FUTURE THAT DECISIONS ON CONFIDENTIAL

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ECE HIGH LEVEL MEETINGS SHOULD BE BASED ON TECHNICAL RATHER THAN POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS.

5. IN VIEW OF THESE CONSIDERATIONS, I BELIEVE BEST COURSE FOR ME TO TAKE AT FEBRUARY 9 STANOVNIK LUNCH, WHICH WILL ALSO INVOLVE FINNISH, USSR, CZECHOSLOVAK, YUGOSLAV, GREEK, BELGIAN AND SWISS AMBASSADORS, WOULD BE TO (1) EXPRESS U.S. DISSATISFACTION WITH GENERAL STATUS OF NEGOTIATIONS AT BELGRADE AND (2) TO NOTE THAT FAILURE OF BELGRADE CONFERENCE WOULD INEVITABLY HAVE SPILL-OVER EFFECT ON GENERAL EAST-WEST RELATIONS, INCLUDING ECONOMICS. THIS WOULD GIVE SOVIETS PAUSE, AND ALLOW THEM TO INFER POSSIBLE IMPACT ON BREZHNEV PROPOSALS, BUT WOULD AVOID US MAKING SPECIFIC LINK BETWEEN BELGRADE AND OUR ATTITUDE TO BREZHNEV PROPOSALS UNTIL WE HAVE HAD TIME TO CONSULT WITH OUT ALLIES. IF DEPARTMENT CONCURS, I WOULD APPRECIATE DETAILED GUIDANCE FROM BELGRADE OR WASHINGTON ON EXACTLY HOW FIRST POINT SHOULD BE PUT. VANDEN HEUVEL

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